352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. 584

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces. [832]

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the 583 584 [533]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321).

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In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several.

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /támu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately,"

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu tajgahímu/, who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[Lit. "to steal a woman." - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." [694]

[On this point, the informant, Pedrito Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.] [696]

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

on his brother. A few days later, the /ún^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ún^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.[4]

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his